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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

May 15

waiting to be heard for the morning business: *Provided, further*, That the morning hour period will not authorize the meeting of committees under rule XXV.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the morning hour be extended, because other Senators are waiting.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEADERSHIP QUALITIES OF
PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the leadership qualities of President Johnson are being increasingly recognized by the press throughout the Nation.

I hold in my hand four editorials. One of them was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 18. It is entitled "Honoring 121 High-School Seniors"; and it pays tribute to the President for his activities in connection with high-school seniors and education.

The second editorial was published in the New York Journal-American; it deals with President Johnson's leadership in the field of poverty.

The third and fourth editorials are from the Nashville Tennessean. The first deals with President Johnson's leadership in the railroad strike. The second editorial deals with the helping hand President Johnson has held out to Appalachia, which includes a substantial part of my State.

I ask unanimous consent that these editorials be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer,
Apr. 18, 1964]

HONORING 121 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

President Johnson's action in setting up a system to honor outstanding scholars graduating from secondary schools—public and private—represents a commendable recognition of the desirability of providing additional incentives and rewards for academic achievement.

The Inquirer shares the President's belief that the Federal Government can perform a valuable role in formally recognizing high school scholars—and those in institutions of higher education as well. In this case the honor will be enormously enhanced by the relatively small number of students—121—who may qualify each year.

No monetary award is to be given, but the winners—the first group of whom are to be named next month by a Presidential commission—will be invited to the White House to receive a medallion. We believe that the idea is an attractive one which should, perhaps be expanded substantially in the future. High school youngsters are already honored for their scholarship by the National Honor Society and by various other awards distributed both on a local and national scale.

We hope that the President and his advisers will consider the program—in its present form—as a basis for a broad system of educational incentives and honors, some of which may be awarded each year in every first-rate school district in the country.

Meanwhile, high school seniors, their parents, and the Nation will await eagerly announcement of the first Presidential scholars. They will be a truly select and highly honored group.

[From the New York Journal-American,
Apr. 28, 1964]

TARGET: POVERTY

President Johnson has fired a big opening salvo on the "war on poverty" by requesting Congress to appropriate \$1 billion for aid to the depressed Appalachia region.

Congress should react to the request with the urgency it merits.

Anyone who has visited the lovely valleys of Appalachia and witnessed the economic misery of its proud mountain folk must surely appreciate the need for swift and effective action to revitalize the area.

It is equally true there are other regions, notably in the blighted areas of our larger cities where similar action is badly needed. But Appalachia is as good a place to start the "war" as any, and perhaps what is done there would provide a model for antipoverty measures in other stricken areas.

The President wants the money—\$220 million of it in the coming fiscal year—for road building, worker reeducation and training, medical care, powerplants, and research for new uses of coal. He should get it.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Apr. 21,
1964]

PRESIDENT SHOWS HOW LEADERSHIP CAN
PREVAIL

In being able to announce an agreement between railroads and their operating unions, President Johnson has again demonstrated remarkable talent for getting things done. The country is properly grateful for his efforts to avert a national rail strike.

When the President decided to intervene, there were those who counseled him that agreement in the 4½ year controversy was impossible; that the Chief Executive would only lose face, and that the time limit he asked of both sides was far too short.

But President Johnson is a firm believer that reasonable men can resolve any differences if they try hard enough, and he used his great skill as a persuasive and conciliatory leader to get both sides down to marathon talks on the thorny issues which have thwarted countless previous sessions.

After 13 days of White House bargaining—7 less than the President had been promised—the two sides reached accord on agreements the Chief Executive called "just and fair." The terms, he said, take account of the modernization necessary for railroads to survive and prosper, and they take account of the human needs and human aspirations which are affected by technological progress.

The 4½ year chronology of the work rules dispute has made gloomy reading. At the time the President stepped in, pessimism was almost universal that the processes of collective bargaining in the rail industry were weakened beyond repair and that there almost certainly would be a railroad strike which would wreak vast damage on all concerned.

Now, the impossible has been made possible. The President and all parties to the dispute have acted in high responsibility and with a great degree of concern for the public interest.

It remains for the agreement to be put into contract terms. Then the members of the five operating brotherhoods must ratify the agreements. It is most earnestly hoped that ratification will follow as a matter of continuing responsibility—that having come this far, the two sides can finally mark an ending to this long chapter of conflict on work rules.

The final agreement represents a compromise on the part of both sides, and while there may be those who wish for more, or less, it is, as the President said, a fair agreement. Both parties can honorably support it as far, far better than the alternative.

A long, bitter and costly railroad strike would have done vast damage to the national

economy, to the railroads, and to the operating unions. In this event the specter of Government imposed solution would have been immediately raised, and the future of collective bargaining would have been seriously impaired.

A practical and beneficial way has been found to avoid the alternative. For this the country can breathe a sigh of relief and applaud the determination of the President to tackle the impossible in search of solution. This is leadership of the most effective kind.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Apr. 26,
1964]

PRESIDENT OFFERS A HAND OF HELP TO APPA-
LACHIA

President Johnson was reported as deeply moved by the grinding poverty which he saw on his trip Friday into the Appalachian region. He immediately asserted he will ask Congress next week for a \$1 billion long-range aid plan for Appalachia.

The commitment to Appalachia as a part of the President's fight on poverty generally is a welcome one. The House is now considering the administration's omnibus bill which calls for a fiscal year appropriation of \$962.5 million for the war on poverty. Various other measures are in the works to provide for resource development in which the regions could share.

It was noted during the President's visit into the Kentucky area that nobody was asking for handouts. "They have so little to build with, but they seem determined to be self-reliant," said Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz who accompanied the President.

That is the keynote to the problem. While the region has the natural advantages which could become the base for a thriving industrial complex, it lacks the means to capitalize on these natural endowments. Much of the Appalachian region is isolated and remote insofar as transportation is concerned. It needs development of roads and waterways. It needs facilities to control and exploit an overabundant rainfall. It needs economical power in sufficient quantities to support industry.

If these things can be accomplished, programs to use more fully the region's great natural resources—coal, timber, and arable land—and its great human resources will follow as a matter of course.

A major job of physical surgery will have to be done on the region to make it accessible to private enterprise which, in the long run, will be the source of the new jobs which are needed.

The people of the Appalachian region are a proud people who would be self-reliant if they could; who look upon the dole as a basic matter of survival, not a choice. The vast majority would work if jobs were available.

A Marshall plan for putting the region on its economic feet is a welcome step. Pumping vitality into the region will not be accomplished overnight. But a long journey starts with a step, and Congress should provide the means without delay, to provide for a decent level of human existence and then concentrate on the long-range steps necessary to solve the region's basic illness.

Appalachia can become a participant in the Nation's economic growth only if it is provided with the means for capitalizing on its own resources, natural and human.

President Johnson has advanced the hopes that the region will soon be sharing from a national investment in opportunity which will provide tools for the job of growth and the salvage of a resource—humanity.

RUSSIANS AND MISSILE INSTALLA-
TIONS IN CUBA

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, a short time ago the newspapers carried

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gets into the budget is usually there to stay, regardless.

Traditionally, too, only general fund appropriations get scrutiny. An agency subsidizing wholly or in part on segregated or revolving funds—its own or other revenues automatically reverting to it—or on Federal funds is off scot free to the extent of that support. Program budgeting will correct this by showing how all receipts from all sources are to be used and what results they will buy.

This development is a story of intelligent bipartisanship. It began with the business practices advisory committee, the task force of experts from private industry, mostly Republicans, that Democratic Governor Nelson recruited in 1959-61. The mainly Republican legislative study committee on efficiency and economy gave it a push in 1961-63.

Last year Democratic Governor Reynolds and the mostly Republican joint finance committee of the legislature both approved the concept. This year Reynolds directed the bureau of management in the department of administration, created by Nelson, to work out the system in detail and get ready to start using it. It is now ready.

QUALITY AND PRICE STABILIZATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Green Bay Press-Gazette, of Green Bay, Wisc., has published an excellent article entitled "Quality, Price Stabilization Is Being Cut Both Ways." The article was written by Ralph De Toledano. In the article, Mr. De Toledano endorses the quality stabilization bill. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Green Bay (Wisc.) Press-Gazette]
QUALITY, PRICE STABILIZATION IS BEING CUT BOTH WAYS

(By Ralph De Toledano)

While the Congress writhes over the civil rights bill and the Nation squirms over Senator FULBRIGHT's efforts to make over our foreign policy in Neville (Umbrella) Chamberlain's image, the committees on Capitol Hill are considering legislation which may affect the average citizen far more—at least in the pocketbook nerve.

Behind the scenes, the big wheels of Congress and the White House are trying to find a formula that will make the pending quality stabilization bill suddenly disappear. The measure presents great problems to a politically oriented administration. On the one hand, to slip in the sharp shaft will lose much support for President Johnson. On the other, outright espousal runs into a wall of uninformed prejudice which the demagogues can use to great advantage.

For those who came in late, quality stabilization will give a new lease on life to the Nation's small businessmen and independent merchants. It will make things far more difficult for the discount houses which today are rapidly approaching the monopoly stage. On an arithmetical basis, there would be no problem if these were the only facts. But carefully planted propaganda has convinced the legislators that quality stabilization will raise prices and hurt the consumer. If this is so, the case has never been properly argued—at least not to my satisfaction—but this makes little difference. What counts on Capitol Hill, as I have often noted, is not the reality but the appearance.

REVELRY WOULD BE SHORT

If the entire economy is jeopardized by price wars, the consumer may briefly have a

period of shopping revelry. But no one gets something for nothing. A blow to the economy always hits the consumer in the small of his wallet. Prices may temporarily be lower, but not so low as income. The unemployed have little chance to enjoy a bargain—as many of us learned in the great depression years.

The administration counts noses instead of benefits. It is convinced that by favoring the discount houses it will win votes come November. The small merchants, however, also vote—which is why such certified liberals as Senator HUMPHREY are bucking the administration in their efforts to bring about passage of a quality stabilization bill aimed at protecting the economy and guaranteeing to the consumer a dollar's worth of goods for a dollar spent.

That this problem of the small merchant—the backbone of the private enterprise system—the monopolist, and the consumer is not strictly American can be seen in the dispatches from overseas. The British are attempting to cope with it, and running into as much demagoguery as we are. Prime Minister Douglas-Home is facing a revolt within his party and paradoxically an assault from the Laborites in his efforts to slip the knife into 300,000 small British merchants by opening the door to discount houses.

ATMS QUESTIONED

Why the P.M. should be so busily at work undermining British ways of business is a question to be posed by the Mad Hatter. Obviously, he believes there are more votes to be won by posing as an advocate of lower prices than by maintaining a system which has helped keep Britain relatively solvent and acted as a restraining force on the nationalists and the socialists.

Some U.S. correspondents in England have reported the battle there as one in which the nasty manufacturers, seeking to dictate high prices, are pitted against the noble retailers, who will be able to lower prices. The Douglas-Home measure before the House of Commons simply offers Great Britain the kind of shoddy business practices which compel the housewife to be a one-woman bureau of standards and comparison shopper if she wants to get value received for money spent.

This, of course, does not apply to all discount houses. But by and large, the rule has become one of caveat emptor—let the buyer beware, in old Roman days.

History has moved ahead. It may be that the quality stabilization bill is not all that its proponents say. But it enforces a degree of responsibility on the merchandiser, the retailer, and the discounteur. What it says, in effect, is that brand-labeled goods must be uniform in quality whether purchased at your neighborhood store or at a superdiscounteur.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Rumanians celebrate May 9 as their Independence Day.

In 1881, Rumania became a kingdom, taking its place among the powers of Europe. While this day is not celebrated today in Rumania, which is controlled by the Soviet Union, I believe it appropriate that we recognize it as another day commemorating the spirit and traditions of freedom.

The Rumanians constitute one of the largest of all ethnic groups in the Balkan Peninsula. They have lived in their historic homeland since time immemorial, and for centuries they have had to defend their homes against invaders and conquerors. They have also had to struggle hard and ceaselessly for their free-

dom and independence. Since the end of the Middle Ages, they had faced some formidable and fierce adversaries. Considering the forbidding conditions under which they faced these foes, they did well; but early in modern times the invincible forces of the Ottoman Turks overran their country. Thus conquered, the people of Rumania were subjected to the oppressive Turkish rule, which they had to endure for four centuries.

But they never lost sight of their national goal, their freedom and independence. In the first part of the 1800's, they staged several revolts; but each time they fell short of their goal, and were ruthlessly punished for their attempts to free themselves. But in the middle of the century the Crimean War—1853-56—provided them with a welcome opportunity.

At the conclusion of that war, in 1856, the Sultan of Turkey was pressed by European powers to allow the luxury of autonomous status in the two principalities in which they lived. But simple autonomy was not their goal; what the Rumanians wanted was full freedom and independence. So, under autonomous status, they continued their struggle.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 they revolved against the Turks; and on May 19, 1877, the people of Rumania proclaimed their independence. The successful conclusion of that war in 1878, in which they fought on the side of the victorious Russians, guaranteed their freedom and independence.

That was more than fourscore years ago; and since then the Rumanians have had their ups and their downs. For a while, their country was prosperous, and they lived in peace; but at other times they were poverty stricken, and were robbed of their freedom. Unfortunately, the latter has been their lot since the end of the last war. Even before that struggle was over, their country was overrun by Soviet forces and its Government was undermined by Soviet agents. Before long, a Moscow-supported puppet government was installed, all opposition to this government was banned, and freedom of any kind was prohibited. For nearly 2 decades, Rumanians have been the Soviet Union's captive subjects—a helpless satellite nation behind the Iron Curtain. Fortunately, they are not despondent, even under such unenviable circumstances; and they still cling to their national ideals—freedom and independence. On the 87th anniversary of their Independence Day, let us hope for their freedom from Communist tyranny.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The hour designated for morning business has expired, under the provisions of the unanimous-consent agreement for that purpose, which reads as follows:

Ordered, That there be a morning hour wherein statements will be limited to 3 minutes, and that the morning hour will be in operation for 1 hour, but that that period may be further extended by the majority leader and/or the minority leader at the end of 1 hour, if, at that time, other Senators are

articles—from "highly informed sources" in the administration—stating that the Russians were about to leave Cuba, were turning over to the Cubans the installations of missiles, and were removing from Cuba the more sophisticated variety of surface-to-air missiles. No supporting evidence for those statements was given; and substantial evidence indicates that those statements constitute wishful thinking, rather than factual information.

A recent article, written by a highly qualified columnist, Virginia Prewett, bears out this inconsistency, and points out that the Russians, instead of leaving Cuba, are remaining; that more Russians are entering Cuba; and that, instead of pulling the missiles out of Cuba, they have simply been shifted to other locations.

Because the article bears so directly on this situation, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD. The article is entitled "Soviet Exit in Cuba Still Is Unconfirmed."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rocky Mountain News, May 7, 1964]

SOVIET EXIT IN CUBA STILL IS UNCONFIRMED
(By Virginia Prewett)

No evidence of the Russian military and missile withdrawals from Cuba hinted this week by Washington officials can be confirmed among Cuban eyewitness informants.

The Pentagon on Monday also refused to confirm the hints, it is learned.

Rather than withdrawing its anti-aircraft missiles from Cuba, the Russians have recently taken five shiploads of shallow-draft vessels loaded with them from the island of Cuba itself to the Isle of Pines, Cuba's prison island 25 miles south of Cuba proper. This is learned from the U.S. Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, which confirmed its information from direct sources that include 18 Cuban eyewitness escapees during late April.

The U.S. State Department and other Washington official sources have been leaking hints that Russia is withdrawing its military forces and missiles from Cuba as a prod to Russia to do just that, in the opinion of observers here.

With rumors rife of an internal explosion against Castro due in May the U.S. State Department is exceedingly nervous lest the Cuban people should erupt before the Russians get out, say this source. The United States is committed to intervene in any "Cuban Hungary," it is recalled.

The Russian missiles were taken to Nueva Gerona, on the Isle of Pines' Bay of Siguanea. This area is "under ironclad Russian control," according to Paul D. Bethel, executive secretary of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba. The island has few Cuban inhabitants outside the big political prisons. Russia can build a Caribbean Gibraltar there.

"If the Russians mean to remove the missiles, taking them first to the Isle of Pines makes no sense whatever," says Bethel, "Russia's ocean-going vessels cannot dock in the shallow water around the small island. The missiles would have to be lightered to the Russian ocean freighters, an absurdity when they could have been loaded directly at Port Mariel, the big military port near Havana."

The Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba has verified the following information:

Russian and Polish military personnel have come to Cuba in the past few months. The Russians have continued, even stepped up military construction, especially on the

coast north of Havana, where heavy electric or electronic equipment has been installed.

Large quantities of new Russian military equipment have arrived through Port Mariel in the past 2 months. Convoys of as many as 100 trailer trucks carrying 90 tons of materiel each have speeded it to Havana, to Nuevitas, in central Cuba, and to sites in eastern Cuba, near the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I suggest that it is time for the administration to give the full facts in regard to Cuban armament; the degree of Russian control; the amount being expended by Castro and his bandits to export subversion to other countries; the number of students of other countries being trained in guerrilla warfare, in schools operated by Cubans, and located in Cuba; the volume of arms exported to other countries; and other information important in connection with permitting the American people to know the full menace which Castro and his fellow Communists pose, not only to us, but also to the entire free world.

As another example of the apparent effort of the Defense Department to keep our country in confusion as to the menace we face from communism, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Seven Hundred Overlooked—Russ Bomber Total Doubt." The article was written by Dan Partner, a highly capable and qualified staff writer for the Denver Post, and was published in the Denver Post on April 23, 1964. Two of the significant statements in the article are as follows:

The Defense Department countered with statistics that, apparently by design, overlooked some 700 Russian bombers.

Nor is there an estimate of the number of bombers that could attack U.S. targets on one-way missions and then fly on to foreign bases—in Cuba, for example.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN HUNDRED OVERLOOKED: RUSS BOMBER TOTAL DOUBTED

(The following interpretive article by the Denver Post's military affairs analyst discloses that the U.S. Defense Department has overlooked some 700 Russian bombers in its recent estimate of Soviet air strength.)

(By Dan Partner)

The true strength of the Russian bomber fleet, known only in the Kremlin, has become part of a major political issue in the United States, to the confusion of the citizenry.

In a slap at Gen. Curtis LeMay last week, the U.S. Defense Department downgraded the Soviet air force in announcing figures comparing the relative strategic strength of the United States and Russia.

The Air Force Chief of Staff has told a House subcommittee the United States definitely was superior, but not as superior as it was a few years ago. Russia, he said, is narrowing the gap.

The Defense Department countered with statistics that, apparently by design, overlooked some 700 Russian bombers.

In its statement last Tuesday, the department said the United States has 540 strategic bombers "maintained constantly on alert which could take off and fly to their targets in the face of a surprise missile attack."

"In contrast, it is estimated the Soviets

could place over this country, on two-way missions, no more than approximately 120 heavy bombers plus perhaps an additional 150 medium bombers, the targets for which would be limited to Alaska and the northwest areas of the United States," the statement read.

At first glance, this evaluation appears to be far below that of the North American Air Defense Command, the triservice organization which teams with Canada to provide detection and defense for North America against manned bombers.

NORAD briefing officers at the Colorado Springs headquarters long have estimated the Soviet bombers at 1,000, a figure considered conservative and one approved by the Department of Defense for public consumption.

The highly regarded Institute for Strategic Studies, London, estimates the Soviet strategic striking power at 1,590 long-range and medium-range bombers. In its 1963-64 edition of "The Military Balance," the Institute reports that as of October 1963 the Russians had 70 four-engine turboprop Bears; 120 four-jet Bisons; and 1,400 twin-jet Badgers, 400 of which were assigned to the Russian Navy.

The distortion in numbers apparently is the result of the Defense Department's limitation of the threat to Soviet aircraft capable of making "two-way missions." This is interpreted to mean that the 270 invading bombers could reach their targets and then return to their homebases.

The statement minimizing the threat fails to mention the number of bombers which could be refueled in flight. Nor is there an estimate of the number of bombers that could attack U.S. targets on one-way missions and then fly on to foreign bases—in Cuba, for example.

The addition of these bombers could more than double the estimate of 270 made in the April 14 statement.

If Russian bombers can reach only targets in Alaska and the Northwest, the United States is wasting billions of dollars maintaining missile and aircraft bases designed to protect major metropolitan centers in the eastern portion of the country.

Air defense installations in the East and Northeast, which actually are stronger than those in the West and Northwest, include Nike-Hercules and Bomarc ground-to-air missiles and jet fighter-interceptor aircraft.

In addition to these defenses, NORAD long has sought a new manned interceptor to meet the threat of improvements in Soviet bomber fleet—such as the air-to-ground missile.

The Russian bombers carry missiles, similar to the Hound Dog carried by U.S. Strategic Air Command B-52's, with a range of more than 300 miles. An extension of that range would put them out of reach of today's air defense weapons—the bombers could launch their missiles at defensive installations and then move in to bomb the prime targets.

NORAD wants a fighter that can fly 3 times the speed of sound and with a combat radius of 1,000 miles or more to get at the standoff bombers before they can fire their missiles.

PASS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WITHOUT MAJOR CHANGES

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, for approximately 2 months now the Senate has been considering civil rights legislation. The issues have been fully and fairly debated and all Senators have been given ample opportunity to express their views during the past 8 weeks or longer.

Much important business of the Government has come to a halt because of

the seemingly unending debate on this bill in the Senate. Needed appropriation bills are being held back because of this debate. We, who are Senators of the United States, must exercise our responsibility to millions of Americans and get down to the business of voting on this important legislation. I, for one, fervently hope that this can be done without the necessity for invoking cloture. However, if this cannot be, then I strongly urge leaders on both sides of the aisle to immediately take steps toward closing extended debate so that the Senate may have the opportunity to express its will in this vital matter—one of the most important pieces of proposed domestic legislation to come before the Senate in many years.

There are many amendments to be voted on and each of them should be thoroughly considered. However, I fervently hope that the Senate will pass the bill without major changes. There just cannot be any compromise on civil rights. There is nothing immoderate, arbitrary, or dictatorial in providing a comprehensive civil rights law.

Mr. President, I assert that right now, today, I am ready to vote for cloture. I feel that it would be definitely in the public interest and for the general welfare of citizens of our Nation were a resolution for cloture to be offered and voted on without much, if any, further delay.

Mr. President, WRFD radio and WRFD-AM radio in Worthington, Ohio, one of Ohio's famed radio stations, recently broadcast an editorial entitled "Pass Civil Rights Bill Without Major Changes." I believe this excellent editorial concisely states the case for this legislation and for the necessity of voting on it as soon as possible. I commend it to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PASS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WITHOUT MAJOR CHANGES

Seven weeks and some 4 million words have passed since the civil rights bill was called up for debate in the Senate and the heated parliamentary battle we have been witnessing proves one point. We need more rational analysis of this far-reaching measure and less emotional argument.

Viewed without emotion, certain points are clear. The measure now being debated is not a totalitarian bill * * * and it is unfair of opponents to stigmatize it with this description. Nor is it a final answer to our Nation's serious and longstanding racial problem. But the bill is a major effort to extend to America's 20 million Negroes the rights enjoyed by the white majority, and to do so by legal means.

For all its length and complexity, the bill is not impossible to understand. It seeks to assure rights in clearly defined areas.

Voting is one area. The bill would prohibit discrimination against Negroes seeking to register and vote in Federal elections. For the record, many States have stronger, much broader laws and Ohio is one. The State constitution assures all citizens voting rights in local, State, and Federal elections.

In the area of employment, the civil rights bill would outlaw racial discrimination on the job. It would grant the Negro equality

of opportunity, not preferential treatment. This section of the bill requires that companies and unions treat workers of both races on the same basis. It does not require a hiring policy to achieve a racial balance. Here again, much the same law is already in effect here in Ohio.

The controversial section dealing with public accommodations would prohibit discrimination by businesses whose operations affect interstate commerce or whose practices of discrimination are supported by State laws, local ordinances or custom. This section says, in effect, that a business open to the public is open to all the public. It denies the power to discriminate. A similar law already prevails here in Ohio.

The civil rights bill would also permit a cutoff of Federal funds to any program discriminating against Negroes. But it would not threaten individuals with the loss of social security or veterans' benefits if they, as individuals, chose to discriminate.

The bill would grant the Attorney General more power to move in school segregation cases, but it would not force the bussing of students from one neighborhood to another to eliminate alleged de facto segregation. The law, as now written, specifically rules out Federal action in this area.

The bill would not limit the right of an individual to sell or rent his home to anyone he chose, even if the home is covered by an FHA or VA-insured loan. But it would apply to the small group of veterans who financed their homes with money borrowed directly from the Veterans' Administration.

Under the proposed bill, an individual could be sent to jail without a jury trial for disobeying a court order directing him to comply with the law. But the same thing can happen in any case of criminal contempt, so the civil rights measure is not taking away any right which now exists.

In short, the civil rights bill is not the ominous threat to liberty that opponents claim it to be. It covers clearly defined areas, and it seeks to gain for Negroes only those rights already enjoyed by other Americans. In many instances, it is actually weaker than State laws already in effect. Such a law can hardly be branded totalitarian.

Perhaps it is regrettable that we need a civil rights bill; that we must, at this late date, create a law guaranteeing to a minority rights they should enjoy without special protection. But a look at the record proves the need. Negroes have been denied rights in each of the areas covered by the bill; they are entitled to those rights; and the Federal Government has a responsibility to act. Through the bill, it seeks only to outlaw the unjust power to discriminate.

Given this fact, we urge prompt action by the U.S. Senate. There has been ample time to talk and we have heard millions of words. Now it is time for the Senate to begin voting—which is the real business of a legislative body—and to pass the civil rights bill without major change.

GRAIN SHIPMENTS TO AUSTRIA

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on May 20, 1963, I brought to the attention of the Senate the fact that 40 million bushels of grain had been shipped to Austria under Public Law 480 and that 24 million bushels of that amount had never reached its destination but had been diverted elsewhere.

This grain had been sold to Austria at greatly reduced prices as a part of our aid program.

I made the charge then that 24 million bushels, or about \$32 million in value, had been sold in Western Europe for dollars.

This resulted in a multimillion-dollar windfall for someone, and I said that this illegal diversion could not have happened without the knowledge of some Americans.

After that statement, various departments insisted that the transaction had been properly handled and that no American public officials or grain dealers were involved. I took exception to that statement and insisted that a further examination be made.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the RECORD a letter from the Inspector General confirming that the shortage did exist and that the case has been referred to the Department of Justice, and further that an article published in an issue of this week of the Wall Street Journal confirming the evidence now being presented to the jury also be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
Washington, D.C., January 29, 1964.

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: On December 5, 1963, I sent you a copy of the latest joint Agriculture-State investigative report on the diverted Austrian feed grains.

I am now enclosing another report on this matter which we sent to the Department of Justice on January 24, 1964.

Sincerely yours,

J. K. MANSFIELD.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 16, 1964]
COURT SUBPENAS GRAIN EXPORTERS' RECORDS ON DIVERTED 1959-62 SHIPMENTS TO AUSTRIA

WASHINGTON.—A Federal district court in New York has ordered major U.S. grain exporters to produce all their records relating to diverted shipments of Government-owned grains destined for Austria in 1959 through 1962.

Trade sources said the Government is trying to find out whether the U.S. exporters helped European importers sidetrack the grain and reap windfall profits for all. The diverted grain totaled around 568,428 metric tons of mostly corn and barley valued at about \$30 million.

The exporters include five New York concerns: Bunge Corp., Louis Dreyfus Corp., Continental Grain Co., Garnac Grain Co. and Alfred G. Toepfer (also of Hamburg, Germany). Also included are Cargill, Inc., of Minneapolis, and C. B. Fox Co. of New Orleans.

The subpoenas were issued beginning last week; some of the exporters are to furnish the records today, others tomorrow and Friday.

It's understood the Agriculture, State, and Justice Departments forwarded results of their investigations of the grain diversion to the New York court about 2 months ago.

All the exporters acknowledged their records had been subpoenaed. "I cannot supply the records," said an official of one company. "I would need a truck to move them; if they want, they can put me on the stand." But other concerns said they'd have the records in court on time.

A spokesman for C. B. Fox Co. said his company's subpoena specified no date. Furthermore, not all the wanted records have been preserved, he said. "We thought this investigation was all over and that we had been given a clean bill of health," he explained, though "we'll be glad to supply all we have."